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ABSTRACT

This curriculum guide presents strategies for teaching a unit on the Middle East conflict including a rationale, performance objectives, background information, and questions. Worksheets contain simulations, poetry, and news stories which are used to teach the origins of and issues concerning the conflict. A simulation of the 1897 Zionist Congress is used to teach about the founding of modern Zionism. The British Government's role in creating a Jewish homeland is explained by reading and discussing the Balfour Declaration. The conflicting claims to Palestine are explored through a simulated United Nations General Assembly meeting. The Arab-Israeli war following the 1948 British withdrawal is studied through reading original news stories. The increasingly militant tactics of Palestinian Arabs are explored through an interview with Yasser Arafat adapted from The Link, and an interview with Moshe Shamir adapted from The Nation. Contrasting views of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon are presented through news articles adapted from the New York Times. (SM)

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THE MIDDLE EAST IN CONFLICT

Strategies and Worksheets

EXPERIMENTAL

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November 14, 1983

Dear Educator:

Critical policy issues confront our citizens daily, and a major goal of the social studies curriculum is to help students develop the critical thinking and reading skills required for educated decision-making. This curriculum guide, The Middle East in Conflict, is designed to help students develop these crucial skills by reading source documents about controversial issues and discussing these issues under the guidance of the teacher.

This guide is an excerpt from Global History--Theme VII. The materials may be taught as part of the Global History curriculum, as a separate unit on the origins and issues of the conflict in the Middle East, or as a supplement to the orientation guide for the America-Israel Young Ambassadors Student Exchange Program.

Charlotte Frank

Charlotte Frank
Executive Director
Division of Curriculum and Instruction

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Section 1 *Strategies*

LEARNING ACTIVITY

RATIONALE

The establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 sparked a continuing conflict between Jews and Arabs in the Middle East. This conflict, fueled by intense nationalistic rivalry, grew out of the apparently irreconcilable claims of Israelis and Palestinian Arabs to the same homeland. Four wars have erupted between Israel and its Arab neighbors over the course of the past 35 years, punctuated by border clashes, guerrilla raids, military reprisals, and political acrimony. Internal rifts among the Arab states and superpower competition for influence in this oil-rich region are additional impediments to a reduction of tensions. The hopes for peace aroused by Camp David and the Egyptian-Israeli Accords of 1979 were dampened by Anwar Sadat's assassination in 1981. The Palestine Liberation Organization's goal of an independent Palestinian state, Israel's settlements on the West Bank, and the problems generated by the invasion of Lebanon in 1982 all point to a continuation of the Arab-Israeli confrontation in the foreseeable future.

PERFORMANCE OBJECTIVES

Students will be able to:

- Compare and contrast Jewish and Arab claims to Palestine.
- Analyze Jewish and Arab reactions to the Balfour Declaration and to the UN partition plan.
- Assess Arab and Israeli responsibility for the Middle Eastern wars of 1948, 1956, 1967, and 1973.
- Describe the "Palestinian problem."
- Analyze the causes of the Palestinian problem and proposed solutions to it.
- Assess Israel's refusal to negotiate with the P.L.O.
- Evaluate the roles of Anwar Sadat and Menachem Begin in furthering peace in the Middle East.
- Explain the causes and consequences of the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

STRATEGY 1

In 1897, Theodore Herzl, a Hungarian-born Jewish journalist and playwright, founded modern Zionism, the movement for a Jewish state in Palestine. Then part of the Ottoman Empire, Palestine had once been the ancient homeland of the Jewish people. Jews date their existence there to the second millenium B.C., when, many scholars believe, the Patriarch Abraham led his people from Ur in Sumaria to the Promised Land.

Herzl's call for a return of Jews to Palestine particularly stirred the imaginations of the thousands of Eastern-European Jews persecuted in Czarist Russia. These Jews began to migrate to Palestine to join small communities of Jews who had continued to live there after that people's world-wide dispersion by the Romans in A.D. 70.

. Distribute Worksheet 1, "The Zionist Dream." Have students read the material and explain their answers to the following questions:

- What was Herzl's plan for the Jewish people?

- Why did Herzl feel that the Jews of Europe should create a new state? How is anti-Semitism related to Herzl's justification of a new state? What evidence of anti-Semitism does he give? What is anti-Semitism?

- King Solomon's Temple, destroyed when the Romans attacked Jerusalem in A.D. 70, was located on Mount Zion. Why do you suppose Herzl and his followers came to be known as Zionists?

- Why did Herzl think that other governments would want to assist the Jews in creating their own state? Was he being realistic? Explain.

- In 1897, Palestine was part of the Ottoman Empire. Most of the people who lived there were Arabs. As a government official of the Ottoman Empire, would you have agreed to the creation of an independent Jewish state in Palestine? As a Palestinian Arab, how would you have reacted to Zionism? Explain.

- Should world governments have helped long-persecuted Jews create their own state? Explain.

- In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, millions of Eastern-European Jews emigrated to the United States and other Western countries, but only several thousand settled in Palestine. Does this prove that most Jews were opposed to Zionism? Explain.

STRATEGY 2

Jewish longing for a return to Palestine did not originate with Theodore Herzl. In Spain, the 12th-century poet Judah Halevi wrote lyrically of his yearning for Jerusalem. Similar sentiments were expressed in the poem "To A Bird," written in 1892 by Hayyim Nahman Bialik, a Russian Jew who was to emigrate to Palestine some 30 years later.

. Distribute Worksheet 2, "Jewish Poets Long for Israel." Read each poem aloud to the class and explain any troublesome references. Then have students explain their answers to the following questions:

- What can we conclude from these poems about the desire of Jews to return to Palestine?

- What feelings do these poets express toward their ancestral homeland?

- How does each poet explain his feelings for Israel? In the poet's place, would you have similar feelings? Explain.

- As expressed in these poems, can the feelings of a people toward their homeland ever be extinguished? Why or why not?

STRATEGY 3

In the famous Balfour Declaration of 1917, the British government expressed its sympathy with Zionist aspirations and promised to support the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people. Issued after protracted negotiations between the Foreign Office and British Zionists, the declaration was made in a letter from Lord Balfour addressed to Lord Rothschild. The declaration, issued during World War I, was designed to rally Jewish support for the Allies. It kindled two essentially incompatible hopes--establishment in Palestine of a national homeland for Jews and preservation of the rights of existing Arab communities. These conflicting aims proved unattainable, although Zionists now had a potent argument to buttress their claims to Palestine.

. Distribute Worksheet 3, "The Balfour Declaration." Have students read the material and explain their answers to the following questions:

- What did the British pledge in the Balfour Declaration? What does a "national homeland for the Jewish people" mean?

- As a Zionist, how would you have interpreted the Balfour Declaration? Would it have encouraged you to emigrate to Palestine? Why or why not?

- As an Arab living in Palestine in 1917, how would you have interpreted the Balfour Declaration? Would you have thought that the British intended to help the Zionists establish an independent Jewish state? Explain. What actions on the part of the British would you have expected?

- The British were fighting the Ottoman Empire during World War I. Why do you think the British issued the Balfour Declaration?

- Were the British justified in issuing the Balfour Declaration? Why or why not?

- Some people feel that the present Arab-Israeli conflict in the Middle East is a direct result of British actions and the Balfour Declaration. Do you agree or disagree? Explain.

. Have students complete the exercise and review their interview notes.

STRATEGY 4

The Arabs living in Palestine also considered that land as their own. At the end of World War I, there were only 60,000 Jews in Palestine out of a total population of 750,000--or roughly 7 Jews to every 93 Arabs. Following the defeat of the Ottoman Empire, the British received a League of Nations mandate over Palestine which recognized "the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine." It made Britain responsible for establishing a Jewish national home there, without "prejudicing" the rights and position of "other sections" of the population, that is, the Arabs. Various Arab spokesmen bitterly denounced the terms of the mandate.

. Distribute Worksheet 4, "Claims in Conflict." Have students read both selections and complete the exercise. Review students' answers and then have them explain their answers to the following questions:

- What do these selections suggest about Palestine in the 1940s?

- On what grounds did the Jews claim Palestine?

- What arguments does this Palestinian Arab offer against the Jewish claim?

- Why does the Arab attack the claim that the Jews are one race, one people, the descendents of Israel? What is the importance of this claim to Zionists?

- Are the Arab arguments valid? Why or why not? Do you have enough information to make a judgment? Explain.

- Are the Jewish arguments valid? Why or why not? Do you have enough information to make a judgment? Explain.

- How does the Palestinian Arab propose to deal with Zionism? Do you think other Arabs share his views? Why or why not?

- In recent years American Indians have sued the United States government for restoration of Indian lands. Is this comparable in any way to Jewish claims to Palestine? Should the United States return ancestral lands to American Indians? What are the rights of the people now living on these lands? Explain.

STRATEGY 5

Conflict in Palestine intensified in the years immediately following World War II. The British rejected the pleas of Zionist leaders for the removal of immigration restrictions to Palestine--a move that ignored the plight of thousands of Jewish survivors of the Holocaust who were languishing in European refugee camps. Military clashes between the Mandate Authority and the Jewish resistance movement created an untenable situation for the British. In 1947, they turned the problem over to the UN.

. Have students role play a meeting of the UN General Assembly in 1947. Divide the class into groups of five students. Assign each group to role play the UN delegation from one of the following countries: Great Britain, the United States, France, the Soviet Union, and Egypt. (As an optional enrichment activity before the role playing, assign students to research the positions taken by their respective delegations during the real UN debate on Palestine.)

. Distribute Worksheet 5, "UN Simulation on Palestine." Have students fill in the name of their assigned country on the top of the worksheet. Instruct the groups to follow the worksheet directions.

. After the groups have completed the worksheet, direct students to try to reach a consensus on one alternative. As each group reports its decision, have the class consider the possible consequences the recommendation would have for the Middle East.

. Distribute Worksheet 6, "UN Recommends Partition." Have students read the material and explain their answers to the following questions:

- What action did the UN take in 1947 with regard to Palestine?

- Why did the UN decide to partition Palestine? Do you agree that Arab and Jewish claims to Palestine were "irreconcilable"? Explain.

- Was partition the best solution to the Palestinian problem? Explain.

- As a Palestinian Arab in 1947, how would you have reacted to the UN plan for partition? As a Jew, how would you have reacted? Explain.

- Would Theodore Herzl have approved of the partition arrangement? Explain.

- In 1982, conflicting claims to the Falkland Islands resulted in war between Great Britain and Argentina. Would partition have been a workable solution to this conflict? Explain.

STRATEGY 6

Partition did not solve the problem of Palestine. The Jews reluctantly accepted the UN plan, but the Arabs rejected it. When the British withdrew from Palestine on May 14, 1948, the surrounding Arab countries immediately declared war on the new State of Israel. This war was followed by others in 1956, 1967, and 1973.

. Distribute Worksheet 7, "The Global Times: Middle East in Continual War!" Have students examine the worksheet and then explain their answers to the following questions:

- From this worksheet, what can you conclude about the relationship between Israel and its Arab neighbors between 1948 and 1973?

- Why do you suppose five Arab countries invaded Israel as soon as it became an independent state in 1948?

- After losing to Israel in 1948, should the Arabs have recognized Israel's right to exist and made peace with it? Why or why not?

- Did Israel's ability to defend itself in 1948 legitimatize its claim to the land? Explain.

- Was Israel justified in attacking Egypt in 1956? Was Egypt justified in attacking Israel in 1973? Explain. In these two cases, was Israel fighting in self-defense? Why or why not?

- How do you account for the fact that Israel was able to defeat its Arab foes in all of these wars? Do you need more information? Explain.

- What territorial gains did Israel achieve in its four wars with the Arabs?

- Does Israel have the right to keep the Arab lands it has taken in war? Why or why not?

- "To the victor belong the spoils." Do you agree or disagree? Might the Israelis have other reasons for wanting to keep the Arab lands they have won in war? Explain.

. Have students complete the exercise, writing an editorial expressing their reactions to the cartoon, "A 25-Year War."

STRATEGY 7

By examining pictures that trace the history of the creation of Israel, this strategy allows students to empathize with both the Israelis and the Palestinians.

. Distribute Worksheet 8, "Pictures Tell the Story." Have students put the pictures in chronological order so that they tell the story of the creation of Israel. Then have them explain their answers to the following questions:

  - What do these pictures tell about the story of the creation of the State of Israel?

  - What do you think the Jews in these pictures are feeling? What are the Arabs feeling?

  - What do these pictures suggest about the reasons why conflict between the Jews and Arabs of Palestine continues to this day?

. Distribute Worksheet 9, "Our Global History." Have students assume the role of historians writing a summary of the events leading to the creation of the State of Israel for a high school textbook, Our Global History. Have them follow the directions on the worksheet.

STRATEGY 8

A major stumbling block to peace in the Middle East is the fate of the Palestinian Arabs--the 2.5 million refugees dispersed to camps in neighboring Arab states during the hostilities of the last 35 years.

. Distribute Worksheet 10, "A Confrontation." Have students read the material and complete the exercises. Review their responses and have them explain their answers to the following questions:

  - What is the "Palestinian problem"? According to the Palestinian's account, how was the problem created? According to the Israeli's account?

  - What solution to the Palestinian problem is offered by the Israeli? Is it a workable solution? Do you think the Palestinian would accept it? Is the Israeli's solution a just one?

  - The country of Jordan was also carved out of the British mandate in Palestine. Why do you suppose the Palestinians do not take Jordan as their nation? Why don't the Arab countries help "their Palestinian brothers"? Might it be in their political interest to let the Palestinian problem fester? Explain.

  - Is there a solution to the Palestinian problem? Brainstorm some possible alternatives.

. Have students, acting as reporters for Global History TV, write two questions that they would like to ask the Israeli and two questions that they would like to ask the Palestinian. Two students may then be chosen to role play the Israeli and the Palestinian, with the rest of the class role playing reporters and addressing the questions to them.

STRATEGY 9

Following the Six-Day War of 1967, Palestinian Arabs relied increasingly on militant tactics to achieve their goals. The Palestinian Liberation Organization (P.L.O.), founded in 1964 as a government-in-exile, added a highly volatile element to the problems of the Middle East. Professing to speak for the millions of Palestinians, the P.L.O. demanded the establishment of an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank of the Jordan River. Various P.L.O. groups staged border raids into Israel and committed acts of terrorism that, in turn, prompted swift Israeli reprisals. Nevertheless, some analysts fault Israel's adamant refusal to negotiate with the P.L.O. as myopic and unrealistic. To the Israelis, however, the prospect of a hostile Palestinian state on their borders, the P.L.O.'s refusal to recognize Israel's existence, and P.L.O. terrorism provide ample justification for rejection of P.L.O. claims to sovereignty over the 700,000 Palestinan Arabs on the West Bank.

. Distribute Worksheet 11A, "A Conversation with Yasser Arafat." Have students read the material and explain their answers to the following questions:

- According to Arafat, what are the goals of the P.L.O.?

- How does Arafat answer the charge that the P.L.O. is a terrorist organization? Do you accept his answer? Why or why not?

- Arafat states that the Palestinians were ignored until they took up arms in 1965. If this is true, does it justify terrorism? Explain.

- Why do you suppose the Israelis have rejected Arafat's proposal, made in 1969, for a "democratic state where Jews, Christians, and Muslims can live all together"? How does Arafat explain this refusal? Do you think Arafat's explanation is the correct one? Explain.

- How do you think Israelis would respond to the P.L.O.'s proposal to establish an independent Palestinian state on "any piece of land from which Israel will withdraw"? Can Israel expect such a state to live in peace with it? Explain.

- According to Arafat, why does the P.L.O. refuse to recognize Israel's right to exist? Do you accept his explanation? Why or why not?

. Distribute Worksheet 11B, "A Conversation with Moshe Shamir." Have students read and complete the exercise. Review their responses and then have students explain their answers to the following questions:

- According to Moshe Shamir, how do most Israelis view the P.L.O.'s demand for an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip? Explain.

- Why do many Israelis feel that the Palestinians already have such an independent state?

- What does Shamir believe to be the true aims of the P.L.O.? What evidence does he offer to support his belief?

- How does Shamir explain the refusal of Israel to negotiate with the P.L.O.?

- Should Isreal negotiate with the P.L.O.? Can there be a solution to the Palestinian problem without P.L.O. participation? Do you have enough information to answer this question? Explain.

- In September 1982, President Reagan announced a new United States plan for peace in the Middle East. It called for Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank and the setting up of a mechanism for Palestinian "self-government" in association with Jordan. Do you think such a plan provides a sound basis for peace? Explain. To what extent does this proposal meet the needs and goals of Israel and the P.L.O.? Explain. (Students should refer here to the map of Israel on Worksheet 7.)

STRATEGY 10

In recognition of their contributions to peace in the Middle East, President Anwar al-Sadat of Egypt and Prime Minister Menachem Begin of Israel were jointly awarded the 1978 Nobel Peace Prize. Sadat initiated the peace effort when he dramatically flew to Jerusalem in November 1977 and made a personal plea for peace before the Israeli Knesset. In subsequent meetings arranged by President Carter at Camp David, Maryland, Sadat and Begin agreed to the framework for a settlement between their respective nations. A peace treaty was signed in March 1979. Sadat's actions divided the Arab world; Egypt became the first Arab country to extend de facto recognition to the Jewish state.

. Distribute Worksheet 12, "A Joint Nobel Prize." Have students examine the worksheet and explain their answers to the following questions:

- Why do you suppose the prestigious Nobel Peace Prize was awarded jointly to Anwar Sadat and Menachem Begin in 1978?

- Did Sadat and Begin deserve the Nobel Peace Prize? Explain.

- In what ways did Sadat and Begin show courage in pursuing peace in the Middle East?

- Judging from the worksheet, what are the criteria for awarding the Nobel Peace Prize? What should the criteria be? Explain.

- Was President Carter's role in the Begin/Sadat agreement significant? Why or why not?

- Is the Nobel Peace Prize a significant award or an empty gesture? Explain.

- Is there any individual on the world scene today who deserves a Nobel Peace Prize? Explain.

STRATEGY 11

Golda Meir's life paralleled the creation and development of the State of Israel. Her story illustrates the determination, commitment, and courage that characterized many Zionists.

. Distribute Worksheet 13, "Golda Meir." Have students read the material and explain their answers to the following questions:

- Was Golda Meir an unusual woman? Explain.

- How do you account for Golda Meir's deep involvement in the Zionist movement?

- Which of the following actions by Meir at the close of World War II took the most courage? Explain.

  . Fasting 101 hours to protest British restrictions on Jewish immigration to Palestine.

  . Touring the United States to collect money for Israel.

  . Disguising herself as an Arab woman to enter Jordan secretly and negotiate with the Arab King.

- How do you react to Meir's statement that "there is a type of woman who cannot remain at home..."? Do you admire such women? Do they pay a price for their involvement in "the larger social life"? Explain.

- If you were an Israeli, would you consider Golda Meir a hero? If you were a Palestinian? Explain.

STRATEGY 12

Fighting between Israel and the P.L.O. in Lebanon in 1982 was the latest in a long series of Middle Eastern wars dating back to 1948. Israel defended its invasion of Lebanon as a necessary response to continued P.L.O. raids against Israeli settlements from across the Lebanese border. The triumph of Israeli arms, culminating in the successful siege of Beirut and the evacuation of thousands of P.L.O. guerrillas from that city, evoked harsh criticism from the Arabs and their supporters. They denounced Israel for launching an attack which inflicted numerous casualties among Palestinian and Lebanese civilians. The Beirut massacre of September 1982, in particular, aroused a storm of controversy in Israel itself and in the outside world. Following a lengthy government inquiry into the circumstances surrounding the harrowing incident, Ariel Sharon resigned as Israel's defense minister in February 1983. Meanwhile, a multinational peacekeeping force, including contingents from the United States, France, Italy, and Britain, helped to maintain order in Lebanon as negotiations proceeded for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the war-torn country.

. Distribute Worksheet 14, "Invasion of Lebanon: Israel Defended and Criticized." Have students read the worksheet and complete the exercise. Review their responses and then have students explain their answers to the following questions:

- How does Ambassador Lavie defend Israel's invasion of Lebanon?

- According to Lavie, what has been the impact of the P.L.O.'s presence in Lebanon during the last decade? What impact have the Syrians had on Lebanon?

- What evidence does Lavie cite to prove that the P.L.O. in Lebanon was trained and armed by the Soviet Union? How do you think the Soviets would respond to Lavie's accusation? Explain.

- Why do Glazer and Lipset feel that the Israeli invasion of Lebanon was "ill-advised"? Are their arguments valid? Do you need additional information? Explain.

- Israel was criticized for (1) invading a sovereign country (Lebanon) and (2) launching attacks that resulted in high civilian casualties. Are these criticisms justified? Should Israel have been expected to endure attacks on its citizens from across the Lebanese border and do nothing? Could Israel have taken some measures short of war? Explain. (Interested students might research Israeli actions in response to the P.L.O. in Lebanon prior to the invasion in 1982.)

- Would the elimination of the P.L.O. in Lebanon solve Israel's problems with the Palestinians? Explain.

Section II *Worksheets*

Worksheet 1

The Zionist Dream

The year is 1897. You are attending the First Zionist Congress in Basel, Switzerland. Theodore Herzl, a Hungarian Jew and a well-known journalist, is about to address the crowd. Let us listen to his statement.

The Jewish question still exists wherever Jews live in large numbers. We naturally move to those countries where we are not persecuted, and there our presence produces persecution. This is true in every country, and will remain true, until the Jewish question finds a solution on a political basis.

We are a people--one people. We have honestly tried to merge ourselves into the social life of the communities in which we live and yet to preserve the faith of our fathers. We are not permitted to do so. Even in countries where we have lived for centuries we are still considered strangers. We are oppressed and persecuted.

Oppression and persecution cannot exterminate us. No nation on earth has survived such struggles and sufferings as we have gone through. The strong among us have remained true to their people when persecution broke out against them.

I do not intend to arouse sympathetic emotions on our behalf. That would be foolish and undignified. I shall content myself with putting the following question to the Jews: Is it not true that, in countries where we live in large numbers, the position of Jewish lawyers, doctors, technicians, teachers, and employees of all descriptions becomes daily more intolerable? Is it not true that the Jewish middle classes are seriously threatened? Is it not true that our poor endure greater suffering than any other group of poor people?

I shall now put the question in the briefest possible form: Should we "get out" of these countries now and if so, where can we go? Let us settle the first point. We cannot stay where we are now. The situation for Jews will not get better; it will only get worse. Therefore, we have a plan, a very simple plan.

Let the governments of all nations give us a portion of the globe where we can create a nation of our very own. The creation of a new state is neither ridiculous nor impossible. The governments of all countries scourged by anti-Semitism will be keenly interested in helping us to obtain a nation of our own.

Our plan is to establish two agencies: The Society of Jews and the Jewish Company. These agencies will organize the very gradual emigration of Jews from the countries in which they now live to the new Jewish state.

Let all who are willing to join us fall in behind our banner and fight for our cause with voice and pen and deed. Hereafter we shall call ourselves Zionists to recall the hill in Jerusalem on which King Solomon's temple stood before that holy city was destroyed and the Jews dispersed from Palestine.

Clearly the aim of Zionism is to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine. We will colonize Palestine with Jewish farmers and workers; establish a community; and finally, obtain government consent, where necessary, to the attainment of the aim of Zionism.

Adapted from Walter Laquer, editor, *The Israel-Arab Reader* (New York: Bantam Books, 1969), pp. 6-11.

JNF Publicity

Herzl and other Zionists on their way to Palestine in 1898 to meet with the German Kaiser in Jerusalem. They hoped to win his support for the establishment of a Jewish homeland.

LONGING FOR JERUSALEM

by Judah Halevi
(Spain, 12th century)

O city of the world, with sacred
splendor blest,
My spirit yearns to thee from out the
far-off West,
A stream of love wells forth when I
recall thy day,
Now is thy temple* waste, thy glory
passed away.
Had I an eagle's wings, straight would
I fly to thee,
Moisten thy holy dust with wet cheeks
streaming free.
-Translated from the Hebrew
by Emma Lazarus

*Solomon's temple in Jerusalem,
destroyed in A.D. 70 by the Romans

AN ODE TO JERUSALEM

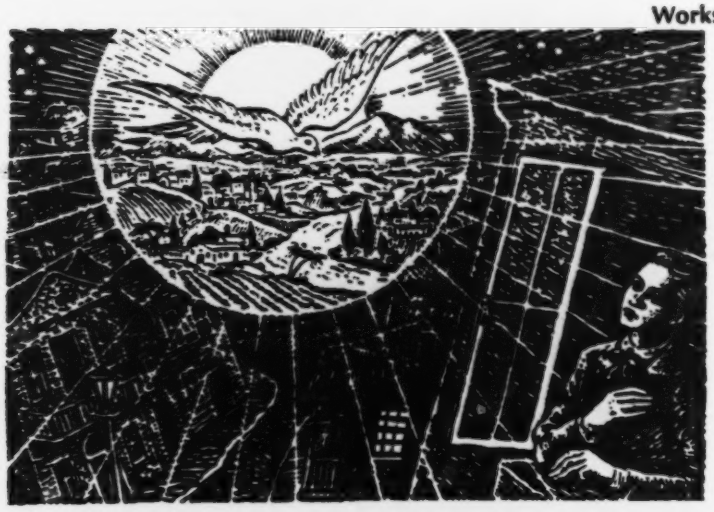
by Judah Halevi
(Spain, 12th century)

Beautiful of elevation. Joy of the
World! City of the Great King!*

For you my soul is longing from the
limits of the west.
O that I might fly on eagle's wings
That I might water your dust with
my tears until they mingle to-
gether;
Shall I not be tender to your stones
and kiss them,
And the taste of your soil be sweeter
than honey to me.

*King David

Both poems from Nathan and Maryn Ausabel, editors, *A Treasury of Jewish Poetry*, translated by Emma Lazarus (New York: Crown Publishing), p. 118.



אֶל הַצִּפּוֹר TO A BIRD

BY HAYYIM BIALIK 1892

GREETINGS! Peace to you, returning
Lovely bird, unto my window
From a warmer clime!
How my soul for songs was yearning
When my dwelling you deserted
In the winter-time!

Chirping, singing, dearest birdling,
Tell the wonders of that distant
Land from which you came.

In that fairer, warmer climate
Are the troubles and the trials
Multiplied the same?

Do you bring me friendly greetings
From my brothers there in Zion,
Brothers far yet near?
O the happy! O the blessed!
Do they guess what heavy sorrows
I must suffer here?

Do they know and could they picture
How the many rise against me,
How their hatred swells?
Singing, singing, O my birdling,
Sing the wonders of the land where
Spring forever dwells.

Does your singing bring me greeting
From the land, its glens and valleys,
Mountain height and cleft?
Has her God compassioned Zion?
Is she still to graves deserted,
Only ruins left?

Tell me, are the Vale of Sharon
And the Hill of Incense flowing
Still with nard and myrrh?

Does the oldest of the forests
Wake from sleep? Is ancient, slumbering
Lebanon astir?

Falls the dew like pearls on Hermon,
From its snowy heights descending,
Tearlike does it fall?
How fare Jordan's shining waters,
How the hills and how the hillocks
And the mountains all?

Has the heavy cloud departed,
Spreading o'er them deathly shadow,
Dark, enshrouding breath?
Singing, chirping, tell me, birdling,
Of the country where my fathers
Found their life, their death.

Oh, that I had wings to fly with,
Fly unto the land where flourish
Almond tree and palm!

Adapted from Israel Efros, editor, *The Complete Poetic Works of Bialik*, illustrated by Lionel Reiss (New York: Histadruth Ivrith of America, 1948), pp. 9-13.

The Balfour Declaration

During World War I, the British Foreign Secretary, Arthur Balfour, wrote the following letter to Lord Walter Rothschild, a Zionist and influential member of the Jewish community in Britain.

Foreign Office,
November 2nd, 1917.

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country".

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Yours sincerely,
Arthur James Balfour

British Museum

Worksheet 3 (continued)

EXERCISE

Imagine it is 1917 and you are a reporter for the Global Times. You are assigned to interview a British Zionist about the Balfour Declaration. Write in your notebook below what you think the Zionist's answers would be to each of your questions:

INTERVIEW WITH A BRITISH ZIONIST

(November 5, 1917)

Question: In the Balfour Declaration, what did the British government pledge to Jews?

Answer:

Question: How do you feel about the Balfour Declaration?

Answer:

Question: What actions concerning Palestine do you now expect the British to take?

Answer:

Worksheet 4

Claims in Conflict

When World War I ended, the defeated Ottoman Empire was dismembered and the British were given a League of Nations mandate in Palestine. After that the Jewish population in Palestine rapidly increased--so much so that the Arabs living in Palestine became alarmed. They pressured the British government to cut off Jewish immigration to Palestine. The British tried to do this, but when the full horror of the Nazi Holocaust of World War II became known, pressure mounted around the world to give the Jews a safe refuge in Palestine.

The diary entry on the left records ideas that might have been felt by a Jewish immigrant to Palestine in the 1940s. The diary entry on the right records ideas that might have been felt by a Palestinian Arab.

Dear Diary,

The land of Israel was the birthplace of the Jewish people. Here our spiritual, religious, and national identity was formed. Here we achieved independence and created a culture of national and world significance. Here we wrote and gave the Bible to the world.

Exiled from the Land of Israel we Jews remained faithful to it in all the countries of our dispersion. We never stopped praying and hoping to return there.

All through the centuries, Jews have striven to go back to the land of their fathers and regain their statehood. In recent decades, we have returned in large numbers. We have reclaimed the wilderness, revived our language, built cities and villages, and established a vigorous and ever-growing community, with its own economic and cultural life. We sought peace, yet we were prepared to defend ourselves. We have brought the blessings of progress to all inhabitants of the country--Arabs included.

Dear Diary,

The Arabs of Palestine are where God and history have placed them. Like all other nations, we are entitled to live in freedom and peace and to develop our country according to our own traditions.

The Zionists are invading Palestine--a country that is not theirs.

In their history, the Jews have never had a more humane benefactor and understanding neighbor than the Arab. In Palestine, we have no record of a single clash with the small Jewish community before the British occupation. This atmosphere of neighborliness was poisoned by the Balfour Declaration and by the aggressive spirit it created in the Jewish community.

The Zionist case is based on the association of the Jews with Palestine 2,000 years ago. If that claim can have any legal or moral value, then we Arabs could have better and stronger claims over Spain, parts of France, Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, and even parts

The catastrophe which recently befell the Jewish people--the massacre of millions of Jews in Europe--only further demonstrates the urgency of solving the problem of Jewish homelessness by reestablishing the Jewish state in the Land of Israel. It is the natural right of the Jewish people to lead, as do all other nations, an independent existence in its soverign State.	of India, Russia and China. In all of these countries our banners flew for years and centuries. Furthermore, Jews cannot claim to be one race composed of descendants of Israel. History establishes that European Jews are descendants of the Khazars, who were converted to Judaism. We Arabs of Palestine are united in our opposition to any scheme that would give to a minority--on the grounds of religion--special and preferential rights or status. We will drench the soil of our beloved country with the last drop of our blood in the lawful defense of all and every inch of it.

The ideas contained in the Jewish "diary entry" have been adapted from the Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel issued in Tel Aviv on May 14, 1948. The declaration is quoted in David Sylvester, et al., *Arab-Israeli Conflict* (St. Paul, Minn.: Greenhaven Press, 1979, p. 31; and in Bernard Feder, *Viewpoints in World History* (New York: American Book Company, 1974), p. 530. The ideas contained in the Arab "diary entry" have been based on a 1947 address to the UN General Assembly by the Palestine Arab delegation. The address is quoted in Bernard Feder, *Viewpoints in World History* (New York: American Book Company, 1974), p. 526.

EXERCISE

Each reading above has a main idea and a number of facts that support the main idea. In spaces 1 and 2 below, write the main ideas of the Jewish and Arab diary entries. In spaces 3, 4, 5 and 6, give facts from each reading used to support the main ideas.

1. Main idea of Jewish diary entry

2. Main idea of Arab diary entry

3. Supporting Fact

4. Supporting Fact

5. Supporting Fact

6. Supporting Fact

UN Simulation on Palestine

The year is 1947. You are a delegate to the United Nations from the country of _____. You have just been assigned to the UN Special Committee on Palestine, where you have been given the following problem.

THE PROBLEM

Great Britain, in control of Palestine since 1918, is having great difficulty there because of the increasing hostility between the Jews and Arabs of Palestine. Both groups have historic roots in Palestine. The Jews claim that they have the right to a homeland in Palestine because their roots extend back over 2,000 years, whereas Arab roots extend back only 1,300 years. The Arabs, however, dispute this. Some Arabs claim that their roots in Palestine predate the Jews'. They claim that they are the direct descendents of the people who originally settled in Palestine. Other Arabs contend that the question of historic riots is irrelevant, that the only fact that matters is that Arabs have lived continuously in Palestine for 1,300 years, whereas the Jews migrating to Palestine are really Europeans. Both the Arabs and the Jews want to control Palestine and create a nation for their people.

YOUR TASK: To decide on the future of Palestine.

DIRECTIONS

The chart below lists four possible alternatives for the future of Palestine. Add other alternatives if you wish. Decide which alternative or alternatives would be workable solutions for the future of the land called Palestine. Write your evaluations in the space provided.

DECISION: WHAT SHOULD BE THE FUTURE OF PALESTINE?

ALTERNATIVES	YOUR EVALUATION
1. Continue trusteeship (care by another nation)	
2. Create an all-Jewish state	
3. Create an all-Arab state	
4. Partition Palestine between Jews and Arabs.	
5. Other:	

UN Recommends Partition

From the majority report of the UN Special Committee on Palestine:

1. The basic premise underlying the partition proposal is that the claims to Palestine of the Arabs and Jews, both possessing validity, are irreconcilable. . . .

2. It is a fact that both of these peoples have their historic roots in Palestine. . . . The partition solution takes these considerations fully into account.

3. The basic conflict in Palestine is a clash of two intense nationalisms. Regardless of the historical origins of the conflict, the rights and wrongs of the promises and counter-promises . . . there are now in Palestine some 650,000 Jews and some 1,200,000 Arabs who are dissimilar in their ways of living and, for the time being, separated by political interests which render difficult full and effective political co-operation among them. . . .

8. Jewish immigration is the central issue in Palestine today and is the one factor, above all others, that rules out the necessary co-operation between the Arab and Jewish communities in a single State. The creation of a Jewish State under a partition scheme is the only hope of removing this issue from the arena of conflict. . . .

From the Majority Report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine. Quoted in Bernard Feder, *Viewpoints in World History* (New York: American Book Company, 1974), p. 528.

Global Times

Middle East in Continual War

1948-1973

The Middle East

1948

British Withdraw Forces from Palestine

Zionists Proclaim New State of Israel, Five Arab Nations Attack the Infant State

The Israelis have won a clear victory over their neighbors. In fact, as a result of the fighting, Israel has gained about 30% more territory than would have been hers under the UN partition plan. Among other things Israel has secured control of the modern, mostly Jewish-inhabited sector of Jerusalem. The Arab nations, although defeated now, claim that they are still legally at war with Israel. They refuse to recognize Israel's right to exist or to have anything to do with her.

1956

Egyptian Terrorists Raid Israel Across Gaza Frontier

Egypt's President Nasser Takes Suez Canal from England and France; Israel Joins England and France to Settle Score with Egypt

Israeli armies have occupied Egypt's Sinai Peninsula and the Gaza Strip. Several thousand Egyptians have been taken prisoner. Israel agrees to give land back to Egypt if a United Nations emergency force remains in the area to prevent further raids into Israel.

1967

Syrians Threaten to Throw Israel "Into the Sea for Good;" Fire Shots at Israeli Settlements

Israel Threatens to Strike Back; Egyptian President Nasser Expels UN Troops from the Sinai and Moves Forces to the Israeli Border; Israelis Strike First

In a surprise attack, Israeli planes have destroyed over half of Egypt's air force. Over a period of six days they have won stunning victories--conquering the entire Sinai, the old city of Jerusalem, the West Bank of the Jordan River, and the Golan Heights.

1973

Israelis Establish Settlements in the Sinai and on the West Bank

Israelis Refuse to Give Back Lands without Arab Recognition of Israel's Right to Exist; on Jewish Holy Day, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, Nasser's Successor, Launches Surprise Attack on Israel

With massive American military aid, the Israelis have managed within two weeks' time to defeat Egyptian, Syrian, and Iraqi armies supplied with Russian arms.

Map from Jim Cannon, Bill Clark, and George Smuga, *The Contemporary World: Conflict or Cooperation?* (Edinburgh, Scotland: Oliver & Boyd, 1979), p. 29.

Global Times

A 25-Year War

Herblock, 1973.

Editorial

Worksheet 8

Pictures Tell the Story

Directions: Number the following pictures chronologically so that they tell the story of the creation of the State of Israel. Write the number 1 on the line next to the earliest event, etc.

Keren Hayesod, United Israel Appeal

_____ *After World War II, many survivors of the Holocaust sought to build a new life in Palestine. This photograph shows the ship* **Theodore Herzel** *arriving in Palestine in 1947. The sign reads, "The Germans destroyed our families and homes — don't you destroy our hopes."*

Keystone

_____ *During the late 1930s Jewish refugees from Nazism beach their ship and wade ashore in Palestine. The ship had to dodge the British Royal Navy's blockade.*

Worksheet 8 (continued)

United Nations

Palestinian refugees from the wars of 1948 and 1967 live in refugee camps in Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon, supported by the United Nations.

Robert Capa—Magnum

Israeli troops move up to the front in November 1948. The Jewish army was first organized in the 1920s and remained illegal up to the end of the British mandate.

Worksheet 8 (continued)

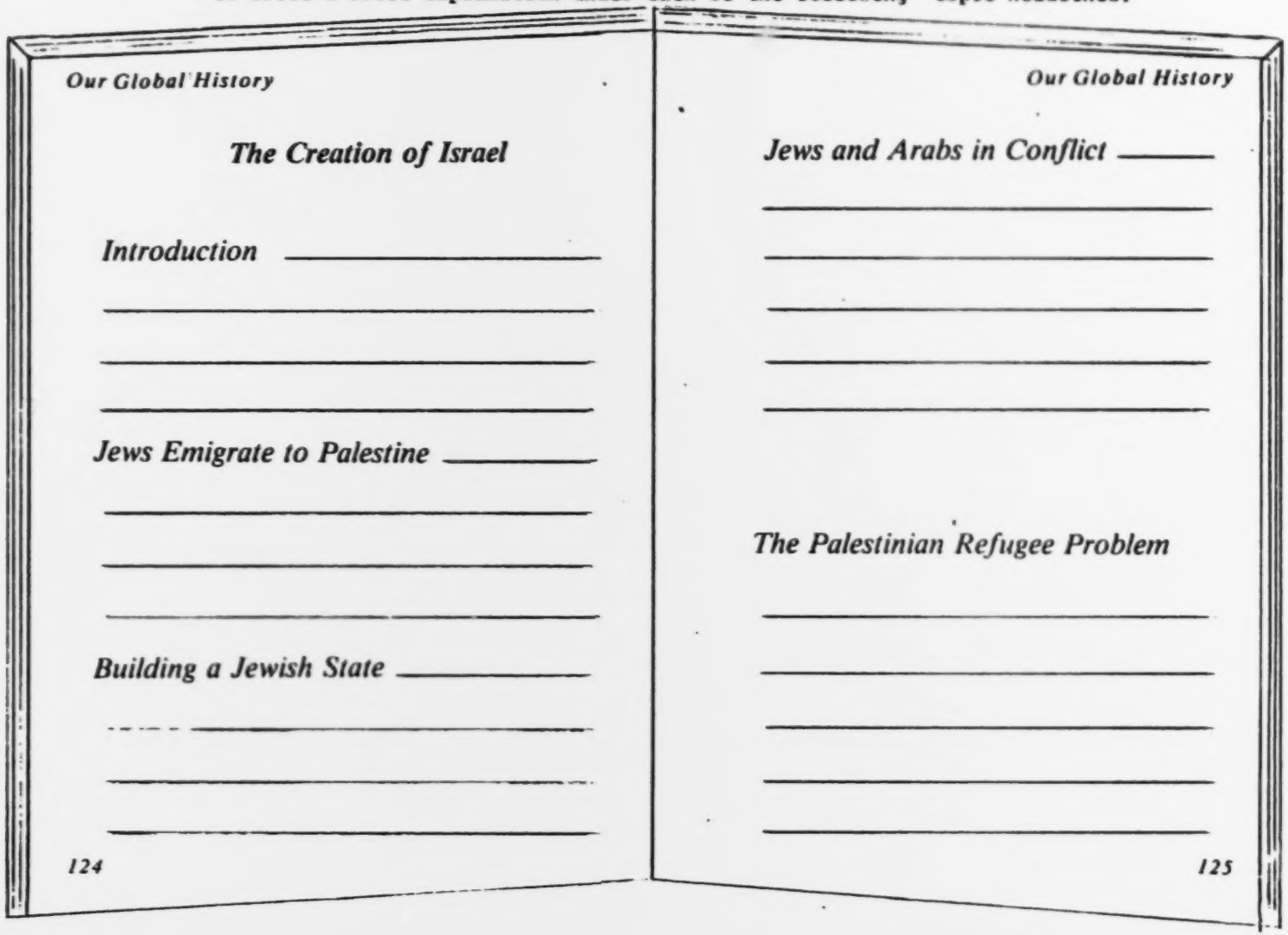
JNF Publicity

_____ *During the 1920s Jewish settlers drain swamps in Palestine.*

Ben Kolhenberg — Israel Publishing Company

_____ *During the 1948 war nearly a million Arabs fled from Palestine out of fear of reprisals from the Israelis.*

Directions: You are a historian writing a summary of events leading to the creation of the State of Israel for a high school textbook entitled Our Global History. Use the information contained in the above photographs and captions to write a brief explanation under each of the following "topic headlines."



Our Global History

The Creation of Israel

Introduction _____

Jews Emigrate to Palestine _____

Building a Jewish State _____

124

Our Global History

Jews and Arabs in Conflict _____

The Palestinian Refugee Problem

125

Worksheet 10

A Confrontation

Imagine that Global History TV (GHTV) sent its reporter, Suzanne Simon, to Tel Aviv, Israel, to speak to youths on both sides of the Israeli-Palestinian problem. She asked two youths to explain their positions on that problem. The following might be their statements:

STATEMENT 1: I AM AN ISRAELI

I speak Hebrew. Israel, my country, was independent for more than one thousand years, ending with the Roman conquest in the year 70 A.D. and the suppression of Bar Kochba's revolt in the year 135 A.D. The Romans and the Byzantines who followed them forcibly dispersed our nation in foreign countries. We became a minority in our own country. When the Arabs conquered our country in the year 637 A.D. they found hundreds of localities still bearing Israeli names. To this day many Arab towns and villages bear names of Israeli localities three thousand years old. Bethlehem has become Beithlahm. Jericho has become Aricha. Yuta has become Yata.

We did not return to our country as conquerors. We bought land from its Arab owners, and on this land we built, with our own hands, villages and towns. Tel Aviv, today a city inhabited by half a million Israelis, was built on sands which no one had inhabited. The Jezreel Valley, today dotted with scores of Israeli villages, was a malaria-infested marsh.

I do not hate Arabs. I do not believe in doom. When I meet an Arab, I know that like myself he wishes to live his own life, in dignity and independence. His way of life may be very different from mine, but because it is uniquely his, I respect it. And I demand from him equal respect for my unique way of life. If he refuses me that equal respect, I shall conclude that he wishes to deprive me of my unique way of life. And because Arabs are a nation of 100 million, we shall take very good care not to become once again a persecuted minority. It is true that nearly one million Palestinian Arabs are now under Israeli rule. I do not like this. But I dislike much more even the remotest chance of an Arab military rule over Israel. So nearly one million Palestinians will have to wait until they and their brethren and 14 Arab governments are willing to recognize us, to negotiate with us, and to make peace with us. In peace we shall be magnanimous. But who ever heard of making concessions to an enemy who is willing to accept whatever you give, but absolutely refuses to accept your own existence?

I do not hate Arabs. But there are some things I cannot understand. I cannot understand why the Palestinians, who for 22 years have been the majority in a new country named Jordan, have not taken over Jordan as their country. I cannot understand how 14 Arab countries could spend in 20 years $15 billion to prepare war against Israel but could not find the funds necessary to help their Palestinian brothers. I cannot understand how Arab countries received

in 20 years $24 billion of royalties for oil, yet found it impossible to dedicate even a part of this sum for the benefit of the Palestinians. The Palestinians can solve their problem any day, within Arab reality, by making Jordan a Palestinian state. And by calling upon the vast resources of the Arab world to help them build their country. But Israel cannot and will not become the solution to problems of Arab reality.

Adapted from "A Confrontation," *Arias* (January 1971). Quoted in Diane P. Rogers et al., *Inside World Politics* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1974), p. 291.

STATEMENT 2: I AM A PALESTINIAN

I speak Arabic. My country, Palestine, was an Arab land. Arabs from the Arabian peninsula conquered Palestine in 637 A.D. At that time Palestine was a Byzantine province. Since then, Arabs from many countries have settled in Palestine.

The Arab right to Palestine, rests on three distinct foundations. The first is the natural right of a people to remain in possession of the land of its birthright; the second is that Palestine Arabs have lived there continuously for over 1,300 years; and the third is that they are still the rightful owners of most of the homes and fields in which the Israelis now live and work.

Forty years ago, Palestine was an Arab country to the same extent as other parts of the Arab world. It had a population of about 700,000, of whom 674,000 were Moslem and Christian Arabs and 56,000 were Jews--mostly "Arabs of the Jewish faith"--who lived with the rest of the inhabitants in peace and harmony and enjoyed equal rights and privileges. These Jews owned about 2% of the total area.

Today, 77% of the territory of Palestine is Israeli-occupied. Instead of the 56,000 "Arabs of the Jewish faith," there are nearly 2 million alien Jews brought into the country from all parts of the world. The Moslem and Christian Arabs who in 1948 constituted 67% of the total population, have been reduced to a mere 10%. The remainder have been expelled and dispossessed, and now nearly 1 million of them are in refugee camps living on the charity of the United Nations at a cost of seven cents per day per person. The 2% Jewish land holdings have been increased to 77% not by legitimate and peaceful means, but by force of arms and confiscation....

We Arabs are determined not to settle for anything less than our full rights to our homes and homeland....

Adapted from *Digest of Major Arab Issues* (New York: Arab Information Center, 1959), pp. 3, 10. Quoted in Leftan S. Stravrianos et al., editors, *Readings in World History* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1970), p. 668.

Worksheet 10 (continued)

EXERCISE 1

Place a check (✓) next to the statements that relate to the ideas of the Israeli youth.

_____ The Palestinians can solve their problems any day.

_____ We were forcibly dispersed from our country in 135 A.D.

_____ 14 Arab governments refuse to recognize our existence.

_____ The Soviet Union supports us.

_____ Nearly one million of my people live in UN refugee camps.

Place a check (✓) next to the statements that relate to the ideas of the Palestinian youth.

_____ The Palestinians should take over Jordan as their country.

_____ Two million alien Jews were brought into Israel from all parts of the world.

_____ Palestinians are the rightful owners of the homes and fields in which Israelis now live and work.

_____ I speak Hebrew.

_____ The Jews have increased their lands holdings in Israel by force of arms.

Write two (2) ideas that are mentioned by both the Israeli and the Palestinian youths.

1. _____

2. _____

EXERCISE 2

Assume you are Suzanne Simon. Send a brief message to GHTV headquarters giving a summary of the Israeli's and the Palestinian's views on the problem that exists between their two peoples.

_____

_____

_____

_____

Worksheet 11A

A Conversation with Yasser Arafat

The Palestinian Liberation Organization (P.L.O.) claims to speak for the Palestinian Arabs. The Commander of the P.L.O., Yassar Arafat, is interviewed below.

Q. Is the P.L.O. a terrorist organization?

A. You have refused to see the organized terrorism of the Zionists, who have attempted to destroy an entire people, and to say to the world: There are no Palestinian people.

The Israeli authorities call our commandos "terrorists" but all movements of national resistance have been called this—in France, for example, during the Nazi occupation. Our aims are military and economic. Reprisals against civilians have only been made in answer to Israeli attacks: it was after the bombing of Irbid and Kafr-Kasr that a bomb was left in Jerusalem, and after the bombing of Salt that the attack on Tel-Aviv took place.

We Palestinians have struggled for our honor, our dignity, our homeland since before 1948, and our cause was as just then as it is today, but until we begin our armed struggle in 1965, our cause was consistently ignored.

We have no airplanes, no bombs to drop from the air, we have no ships, and yet we face the organized terrorism of the Israeli-American war machine. We are fighting with our hearts, sometimes with only small stones. Was David, facing Goliath, the greatest terrorist of his day? The tactics of "terrorism" that we use are those the Americans used in their fight for freedom, that the French used in their fight for freedom, that the Algerians used in their fight for freedom. They are tactics against occupation, repression and oppression: they are legitimate means, for we have no other weapons, by which to survive.

Palestine Information Center, Washington, D.C.

Q. It is often said the P.L.O. wants to drive the Israelis into the sea. Is this true?

A. The P.L.O. has never advocated the annihilation of Israel. The Zionists started the "drive the Jews into the sea" slogan and attributed it to the P.L.O. We have repeatedly made suggestions of how Christians, Muslims and Jews can live together, in peace, in the Holy Land. In 1969, we said, we want to establish a democratic state where Jews, Christians and Muslims can live all together. The Zionists said they do not choose to live with any people other than Jews. They want a state only for Zionist-Jews. This, we believe, is as racist a concept as Hitler's idea of a state only for his kind.

We said to the Zionist-Jews, all right, if you do not want a secular, democratic state for all of us, then we will take another route. In 1974, I said, we are ready to establish our independent state in any part from which Israel will withdraw.

Q. Why don't you recognize Israel's right to exist?

A. You have to put into your consideration that it is the Israeli side who started this violence. The Zionists are the aggressors. The Zionists are the occupiers. Why are the victims of this aggression asked to "recognize" the occupiers? Up to what boundaries, up to what limits of their aggression do you yourself "recognize" the Zionists? To the borders given them in 1947?

Our people have been kicked out of our homeland and 60 percent of our people are living as refugees, homeless, stateless, in refugee camps, in very bad, very serious, very complicated circumstances.

They have been struggling, to live normal lives, but they are denied the right of nationhood and they must have identification cards and do not have the right to hold passports as Palestinians, and having no passports, they are not seen as first-class people by others, who are citizens of a state.

We, too, want our flag, our industries, our schools, our universities. We too want to be recognized. The Zionists who have stolen our orchards and farms and who refuse to allow our students to write poems about Palestine or to show the Palestinian flag, even the Palestinian colors, are denying us our human rights.

Begin is saying that "we will not recognize the Palestinians and we will not recognize the P.L.O."

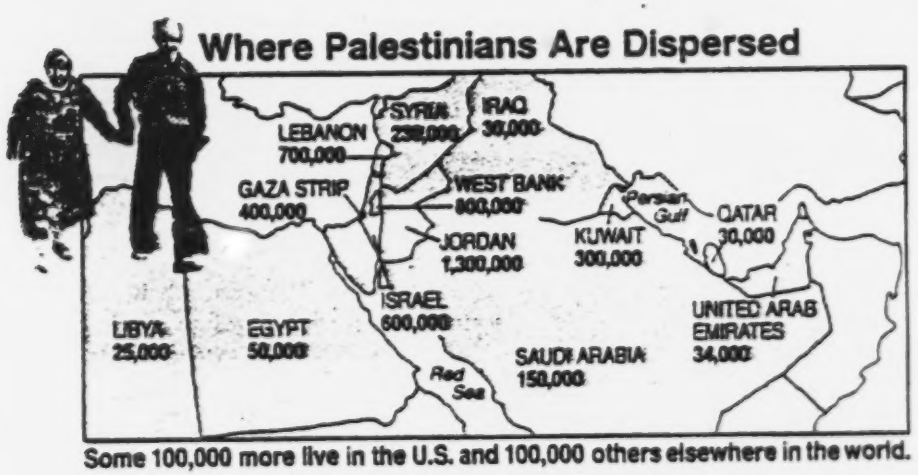
Zionist Mr. Kissinger exacted a pledge from the United States that it would not *negotiate* with the P.L.O. But why not *talk* with us? Your own State Department people have pointed out that the agreement not to negotiate does not mean you can't talk with us. Why do you refuse to see us?

As long as you refuse to see us, to have a dialogue with words, there can be only one dialogue, and that is a dialogue through armaments.

I do not choose war.

But thus far, you give us no choice.

Adapted from *The Link* 15 no. 3 (July-August 1982), pp. 12-14. *The Link* is published by Americans for Middle East Understanding, Inc., New York.



Map from *U.S. News & World Report*, June 28, 1982. Based on data supplied by the Palestine Information Office.

Worksheet 11B

A Conversation with Moshe Shamir

Moshe Shamir is a novelist and a member of the Israeli Knesset. The following viewpoint presents Mr. Shamir's responses to questions on Palestinian statehood and the role of the P.L.O. put to him by the editors of The Nation magazine.

Question: "Under what conditions would the creation of an independent Palestinian state on the Israeli-held West Bank and the Gaza Strip become acceptable to you?"

Answer: Put NO where the "what" is, and you get the most widely held view in Israel. There is already an independent Palestinian state--Jordan. Ethnically, the massive majority of the Jordanians are Palestinians.

The Palestinians do not need another state, neither do they really want it. Living under a terroristic regime--the Palestine Liberation Organization--they have no chance to express their true wishes. It is only through their self-appointed, terror-supported spokesmen that we get the information about what they call "the Palestinian national aspirations."

Question: "What do you think are the true aims of the Palestinians' leaders?"

Answer: A quick look at recent history will give us an idea of their leaders' true aims. For nineteen years (1948-67) the West Bank and Gaza were under Jordanian and Egyptian rule respectively--and there was not a single voice about a "separate Palestinian state." During those years they were closer to achieving their final aim--the destruction of Israel--and the need to hide it was not so clear as it is today. They spoke then, simply and directly, about reconquering Israel, to be achieved by a joint military effort of the same Arab states they willingly lived under, namely Jordan and Egypt. Only after the 1967 and 1973 wars, when they realized that such a military overrunning of Israel was not possible, did the scheme of doing it in stages, by political means mainly, emerge as an acceptable temporary solution. The first stage in this scheme is the establishment of a separate state in the West Bank and Gaza; the second is the good old "final solution," the total destruction of the Jewish state.

Question: "How would you like to see political accommodation with the Palestinians come about?"

Answer: There <u>is</u> a political accommodation with the Palestinians--and I like it. Those Palestinian Arabs who now live west of the River Jordan, within the framework of Israel's sovereignty--can remain where they are, co-existing with the Jews, sharing with them--as they do--the freest, the most civilized, most affluent, the most open way of life in the region. Those Palestinian Arabs who live <u>outside</u> the land of Israel, some of them as refugees, some of them as fully absorbed citizens or inhabitants of other Arab countries--should remain where they are, contributing to the so badly needed development and gradual democratization of those countries.

If the term Palestinians in this question is meant to be a substitute for the P.L.O., I reject both the confusion and the idea. The P.L.O. is not the Palestinians. The P.L.O. is an organization of murder and terrorism financed, armed and led by the Soviet Union and by some Arab countries for the advancement of their own interests. The P.L.O. exploits and victimizes the Palestinians and brings upon them suffering and calamity after calamity.... It is indeed a great tragedy that men of good will in the democratic countries delude themselves that appeasement of the P.L.O. can bring about a process of moderation on its part. The only way to deal with the P.L.O. is to wage war on it with the sole aim of putting an end to it--the same way one should deal with any organization of crime and destruction.

Quoted in Bruno Leone, *The Middle East: Opposing Viewpoints* (St. Paul Minn.: Greenhaven Press, 1982), pp. 51-52, 54.

EXERCISE

Below are some of the questions asked or implied in the interviews with Yassar Arafat (Worksheet 11A) and Moshe Shamir. Next to each question, briefly write Arafat's answer and Shamir's answer in your own words.

QUESTIONS	ARAFAT'S ANSWER	SHAMIR'S ANSWER
1. What should become of Palestinian Arabs living in and outside the land of Israel?		
2. Would you accept the creation of an independent Palestinian state in the now Israeli-held West Bank and Gaza Strip?		
3. Is the P.L.O. a terrorist organization?		
4. What weapons does the P.L.O. have?		
5. Should negotiations take place between the P.L.O. and Israel?		

A Joint Nobel Prize

THE 1978 NOBEL PEACE PRIZE
IS AWARDED TO
ANWAR AL-SADAT, PRESIDENT OF EGYPT
AND
MENACHEM BEGIN, PRIME MINISTER OF ISRAEL

FOR THEIR EFFORTS TO BRING PEACE TO THE MIDDLE EAST

TO ANWAR AL-SADAT FOR
- -- HIS COURAGE IN BEING THE FIRST ARAB LEADER TO VISIT JERUSALEM AND PLEAD FOR PEACE BEFORE THE ISRAELI PARLIAMENT
- -- HIS COURAGE IN WITHSTANDING THE CONDEMNATION OF THE OTHER ARAB STATES AND THE P.L.O.
- -- RECOGNIZING THE LEGAL EXISTENCE OF ISRAEL

TO MENACHEM BEGIN FOR
- -- AGREEING TO REMOVE ISRAELI TROOPS FROM THE SINAI
- -- AGREEING TO NEGOTIATE WITH EGYPT AND JORDAN ABOUT HOW THE WEST BANK AND THE GAZA STRIP ARE TO BE CONTROLLED
- -- PLEDGING TO WORK WITH EGYPT TOWARD A SOLUTION OF THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM

(Honorable mention to President Jimmy Carter of the United States for bringing these two leaders together at Camp David, Maryland.)

Adapted from Daniel Roselle and Anne P. Young, *Our Western Heritage* (Lexington, Mass.: Ginn and Company, 1981), p. 615.

Golda Meir

Newspeople Magazine

Golda Meir

Golda Meir (MIE-ir) was born Golda Mabovitch (MOB-uh-vich) on May 3, 1898, in Kiev, in the Russian Empire. Her first memory was of her father nailing boards over the front door to protect the family from the raids of anti-Semitic Russian peasants. "I have a pogrom* complex," she was later to admit when speaking of her "desire and...determination" to save Jewish children from a similar scene and from a similar experience.

Life in Russia was little more than survival. In 1906, Golda's family emigrated to the United States. Forced by her family to give up the idea of high school and work in the family grocery store, Golda ran away from home and married Morris Myerson, a fellow Russian emigre.

Soon, Golda became enthusiastically involved in teaching and public speaking. The democratic socialist ideas of Eugene Debs and the Zionist beliefs of David Ben-Gurion had led to her conviction that her destiny lay in the Jewish homeland. In 1921, she and her husband set sail for Palestine where there were only 80,000 Jews living. "Since I believed in

Simon Pietri — Sygma

Zionism, the building of a Jewish homeland, I couldn't imagine myself staying in the United States," she was later to explain. In 1929, she was elected a delegate to the World Zionist Congress and went on several trips to the United States and many European countries on behalf of the World Zionist Organization. By that time, her marriage was breaking up. Mrs. Myerson moved with her children to a tiny apartment in

* A pogrom is an organized massacre of helpless people.

Tel Aviv where she was to live for many years.

At the close of World War II, Golda Myerson fasted for 101 hours to protest British restrictions on the immigration of Jewish refugees to Palestine. She also toured the United States and collected 50 million dollars for Israel. When Israel's independence was almost a fact, she disguised herself as an Arab woman and secretly entered Jordan, where she unsuccessfully tried to get King Abdullah (AB-dul-lah) not to join other Arab leaders in attacking the Jews. He asked her not to hurry the proclamation of an Israeli state. "We have been waiting for 2,000 years," she answered. "Is that hurrying?"

On May 14, 1948, she became one of the 25 signers of Israel's independence declaration and the only woman member of its first legislature. After holding many positions in the Israeli government, Golda Meir (she changed her name to the Hebrew version of Myerson; it means "illumination") was elected Prime Minister in 1969.

As Prime Minister, Mrs. Meir's emphasis on foreign policy did nothing to solve certain domestic problems in Israel. Many Oriental Jews who lived there complained that they were being treated as second-class citizens. She was also publicly criticized for praising Nixon's efforts in Southeast Asia. Nevertheless, most of her five years as Prime Minster established her as the unquestioned leader of her country. She had opened the way for some Soviet Jews to emigrate to Israel, strengthened the country's ties with the United States, and set up contacts with Jewish communities around the world.

At the end of her life, she explained her preference for public life over the duties of the home. "There is a type of woman who cannot remain at home," she wrote, "...her nature demands something more; she cannot divorce herself from the larger social life.... For such a woman there is no rest."

Mrs. Meir died on December 8, 1978, of leukemia.

Adapted from Allan O. Kownslar and Terry L. Smart, *People and Our World* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984), pp. 686-687.

Worksheet 14

Invasion of Lebanon: Israel Defended and Criticized

READING 1: ISRAEL DEFENDED

This defense of Israel's invasion of Lebanon was written by Ambassador Naphtali Lavie who is Israel's consul general in New York.

The Effect of the P.L.O. on Its Lebanese Hosts

It will take a convoy of trucks several weeks to remove the weapons and ammunition Israel has captured from the Palestinian terrorists in Lebanon. But even now we know enough to confirm what many have long suspected: that within the past decade, the military arm of the Palestine Liberation Organization has been transformed into a quasi-army, supported by Soviet-supplied guns, rocket launchers, mortars and tanks.

Much of what has been said about the invasion has dealt with Israel's motives, the death of Lebanese civilians and prospects for a more lasting peace. But it is worth reflecting on the nature of the enemy Israel confronts.

The Palestinian terrorists, backed by the Syrians, destroyed the delicate fabric of the Lebanese society so that Lebanon ceased to exist as an independent nation. The P.L.O., by force of arms, took whole areas of the country, evicting residents, terrorizing the population and seizing Lebanese governmental authority. The Syrian troops assigned by the Arab countries to perform their so-called "peacekeeping" mission soon became one of the warring factions. Arriving to save the Christians from P.L.O. massacre, they joined forces with the P.L.O. Instead of bringing peace, the Syrians intensified the fighting in pursuit of their hopes to annex Lebanon as part of greater Syria. Even today the Syrians do not recognize Lebanon as an independent nation.

Under the protection of the Syrian troops, the P.L.O. expanded its occupation in southern Lebanon and in the Beirut area, turning farming villages and urban centers into bases of international terrorism. Among the thousands of terrorists captured in Lebanon were those from Iran, Iraq, Yemen, Libya, Kuwait, Bangladesh, Jordan and Europe.

Documents carried by captured terrorists confirm the statement by Zehdi Labib Terzi, the P.L.O.'s United Nations observer, on September 11, 1979: "There's no secret about it. Our boys go to the Soviet Union and socialist countries for military training. We get direct consignment of Soviet weapons."

Years of P.L.O. terror aimed at targets in Israel, Lebanon, Europe, Africa and Asia resulted in the loss of hundreds of innocent lives. According to Lebanese reports, nearly 100,000 people were killed in the civil war, begun in 1975, in which the P.L.O. and the Syrian forces played their diabolical role.

Israel's operation in southern Lebanon was undertaken to remove the threat of terror against its citizens. At the same time new options for the Lebanese people and for the Palestinians have been created. Without military intimidation from Syrian troops and P.L.O. gangs, an effective central government can now reassert itself. All foreign troops--including Israel's--should leave Lebanon. Only in this way can the Lebanese re-establish their social and cultural institutions, and only then will an effective Lebanese government be restored.

The Lebanese, like Israelis, have the legitimate and elementary right to exist as a soverign people in their own country, safe and secure. Lebanon and Israel used to have a peaceful border. In restoring this peace a great contribution will have been made toward a reasonable and promising solution to the Israel-Arab dispute. Only in this way can an equitable and lasting settlement for the Palestinian people be reached.

Adapted from the *New York Times*, July 2, 1982.

READING 2: ISRAEL CRITICIZED

This criticism of Israel's invasion of Lebanon was written by Nathan Glazer and Seymour Martin Lipset. Mr. Glazer is a professor of sociology and education at Harvard University. Mr. Lipset is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution for War, Revolution, and Peace.

Israel Isn't Threatened. The War's Ill-Advised.

"In the Mideast what is at stake, on Israel's side, is survival. If Israel loses, just once, it is gone." So writes Conor Cruise O'Brien, in The Observer of London, of the Israeli war in Lebanon. He was right--until this war.

Whether or not it was conceivable that Israel could "lose" a war to the Palestine Liberation Organization, losing it would not have threatened Israel's survival. That survival was at stake in 1967 and in 1973. It is not at stake in 1982.

This is only the first of the reasons that this is an ill-advised war. The second is that it was not undertaken to prevent P.L.O. intervention from Lebanon. The cease-fire was holding. According to Yaron Reuven, chairman of the Israel Broadcasting Company, who has been touring the United States to explain the invasion, the P.L.O. artillery had to be destroyed because Israel was not free to retaliate against terrorist acts abroad by bombing P.L.O. camps as long as the threat of P.L.O. rocket and artillery reply existed. He in effect admits that the P.L.O. firepower was used only to reply to Israeli retaliation.

The third reason this war is ill-advised is that it had to be a war in which the major casualties were civilians, and their cities and villages. Israel has for the first time fought in heavily settled areas with the awful weapons

of modern destruction. The photographs and television pictures are horrifying. And there is little Israel can say or do to balance those pictures of crying babies and women, running from bombs and shells, returning to demolished houses.

And a fourth reason: ...It is hard to believe that Israel can shape a truly independent Lebanon. Or that a new Lebanon, of whatever kind, can ever think of Israel as anything but a destructive neighbor that is indifferent to the sufferings of ordinary people when its interests, as it sees them, are ignored.

But perhaps the most serious argument against this war is that it is based on a mistaken view of the Palestinians and their armed forces as something "foreign" to Lebanon.

Palestine Liberation Organization forces are drawn principally from the hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. The leaders can go elsewhere. Perhaps some of the P.L.O. soldiers can go elsewhere. But most of the Palestinians can go nowhere. They are not welcome in Syria, or Jordan, or any other Arab country, or in Israel. It should be in Israel's interests to have Palestinian refugees recognized as citizens of every country in which they are settled--and that includes Lebanon--rather than be considered "foreign."

Israel cannot take the position that the P.L.O., which is after all the dominant organization among the hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, is a foreign element, unless it recognizes the right of the Palestinians to settle in the West Bank or Gaza.

Israel must recognize that it cannot have peace or an end to terrorism without giving the Palestinians the right to self-determination. It must recognize that Palestinian nationalism is as legitimate as Jewish nationalism, and hope that there are ways that this nationalism can find expression without threatening Isreal.

Adapted from the *New York Times*, June 30, 1982.

EXERCISE

After reading the defense of Israel's actions in Lebanon and the condemnation of Israel's actions, check (✓) the appropriate box on the chart:

Column 1: The statement relates to Ambassador Lavie's defense of Israel.
Column 2: The statement relates to Glazer and Lipset's condemnation of Israel.
Column 3: There is agreement of fact or opinion in both accounts.

	(1) Lavie	(2) Glazer & Lipset	(3) Both agree
Isreal's survival was not at stake in 1982.			

Worksheet 14 (continued)

	(1) Lavie	(2) Glazer & Lipset	(3) Both agree
P.L.O. firepower was used only to reply to Israeli retaliation for terrorist acts abroad.			
Israel's operation in southern Lebanon was undertaken to remove the threat of terror against its citizens.			
All foreign troops--including Israel's--should leave Lebanon.			
Israel cannot take the position that the Palestinians and the P.L.O. are "foreign" elements in Lebanon.			
Israel cannot have an end to terrorism without giving the Palestinians the right to self-determination.			
The Lebanese have the right to exist as a sovereign people in their own country, safe and secure.			
When peace is restored to Lebanon, a great contribution will have been made toward solving the Israeli-Arab dispute.			
It is hard to believe that a new Lebanon can ever think of Israel as anything but a destructive neighbor.			
The Palestinian terrorists, backed by Syrians, destroyed the delicate fabric of Lebanese society.			